COMMANDERS DIGEST

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Lack Of Information On POWs Is A Major Concern Of DoD

North Vietnam's "consistent refusal" to abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949 is one of the biggest obstacles in obtaining information about United States servicemen listed as prisoners of war or missing in action.

Voicing concern about this "problem" were Charles Havens, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, and Richard Capen, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

Appearing on Pentagon Forum, a Department of Defense television program moderated by John C. Broger, Director of Information for the Armed Forces, Havens and Capen said the subject of "prisoners of war" or "missing in action" receives the highest attention in the Defense Department.

As of early June, DoD had 1,340 U.S. servicemen listed as prisoners or missing in action.

Concerned about the welfare and status of POWs, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird has appointed Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, as chairman of a Defense Prisoner of War Committee. Mr. Havens and Mr. Capen are members of the committee. Mr. Havens has been working on the POW and missing in action problem two years.

Also, in an effort to close the communications gap between Hanoi, the Viet Cong and the United States concerning POWs, Mr. Capen heads a DoD program initiated to prompt the captors to abide by the Geneva Convention. In addition, families are kept informed of the situation faced by the Defense Department in obtaining POW information.

Regarding the 1,340 U.S. servicemen now prisoners or missing in action, Mr. Capen said, "One of the greatest tragedies of all this problem is the fact that almost a thousand of these men are listed as missing in action. So what we have are hundreds and hundreds of families who have lived now up to five years not even knowing whether

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Pentagon Forum moderator John C. Broger (left), Richard Capen (center) and Charles Havens. The guests are members of a DoD POW Committee.

President Orders Personnel Cutback

President Nixon July 9 ordered a 10 per cent reduction amounting to 20,000 military and direct hire civilian personnel overseas to reduce budget and balance of payments costs.

Affected will be approximately 14,900 military men and 5,100 direct hire civilian personnel.

Exempt from the reduction of personnel overseas are the military forces committed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or in Berlin, to forces stationed in Korea or in Vietnam, and units stationed elsewhere in Southeast Asia that are directly engaged in related military operations.

Locations where troops may be withdrawn, for example, could be

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'You Can Stand Tall'

Army Chief of Staff Greets Vietnam Returnees

When the first elements of the 9th Division returned to the United States from Vietnam July 8, the Army's Chief of Staff, General William C. Westmoreland was there to greet them.

Landing at McChord Air Force Base, Seattle, Wash., the men were the first increment rotated to the U.S. under President Nixon's Midway announcement to replace approximately 25,000 U.S. military personnel in the Republic of Vietnam.

The 814 troops were officers and men of the 3rd Battalion, 60th Infantry, 9th Division, who had been airlifted direct to the U.S. from the Republic of Vietnam.

In his remarks, General Westmoreland, who once was their Commander, praised them for a job well done.

Meantime, another contingent of troops — about 2,800 — of the Regimental Landing Team, 3rd Marine Division, were in the process of departing DaNang for Okinawa by ship. In addition, a second group of about 800 soldiers of the 9th U.S. Infantry Division departed Vietnam and arrived at McChord AFB, Wash., on July 13.

". . . I would like to point out that the 3d Battalion, of the 60th Infantry engaged in six campaigns in South Vietnam; and this battalion was awarded the Presidential Unit Citation for distinguished service in combat," the general said.

The Army's Chief of Staff said he wanted to convey the appreciation of the Nation for what the men had contributed. "You can be proud of what you have done. You have done what you were asked to do in the furtherance of our national policy, and you have done it well."

Following are additional remarks made by General Westmoreland at the welcoming home ceremonies:

"Together with our allies you have supported the Vietnamese government and its armed forces with the results that have prohibited South Vietnam from being overrun by the North Vietnamese Army.

"And behind the shield of your security, South Vietnam has laid the groundwork for a government of the type that they desire. In addition, behind the security that you and other American and Free World troops have provided, the South Vietnamese Armed Forces have been built up over the years to the point where they are now able to take over more and more of the battlefield burden.

"And your presence here today is a manifestation of the improvement in the South Vietnamese Armed Forces. Indeed, much remains to be done, but progress is being made on the battlefield in Vietnam."

General Westmoreland said he realized that some of the men would be leaving the service and that others would remain in uniform, and then added:

"Whether you stay in or whether you get out, I know that you will succeed. There will be some," he continued, ". . . who will degrade your service and your performance. In any case, you will find yourself quite different in both appearance and attitude from others who have not served. You have grown and developed while you have been in uniform. You will probably find yourselves more mature than some of your contemporaries and certainly more mature than before.

"No doubt, you are more dedicated to serve others than before. You are probably more compassionate, more responsible, and more realistic — and even more practical than you were before you donned the uniform of your country.

"You can stand tall. You can be proud. You can look any man in the eye, for you have served your country when you were called. You know in your own heart that you did your duty while others of your age stood idly by and talked and demonstrated.

"But you have also demonstrated. You have demonstrated your sense of responsibility — and your responsibility as an American citizen to serve his country."

General Westmoreland told the men they had come a long way in both travel and development since they put on their uniforms, and that they had contributed and will continue to contribute, to the Nation and to society.

"I urge you to be good citizens as you have been good soldiers. Because of the one-year tour in Vietnam, there are over three million veterans of Vietnam now in this country. You will be joining them and you will be joining some 25 million other veterans here in the United States."

The Army's top soldier reminded the men they had earned certain benefits and said, "I hope that you will learn about these benefits and you will take advantage of them."

In his closing remarks, General Westmoreland had this word for those men who chose to remain in the Service: "Those of you who will stay in the Army will benefit from your experience in Vietnam. You will continue to serve, and I wish you well whatever you undertake. I know that you will seize opportunities that are yours and fully meet the challenges which will come your way as you have so successfully met them in Vietnam.

"Men, your country is proud of you, and I certainly am, indeed, proud of you. I extend my congratulations, my best wishes, and wish you Godspeed."

President Nixon said at the Midway Island meeting that during August "and at regular intervals thereafter, we shall review the situation, having in mind the three criteria that I have previously mentioned with regard to troop replacement: first, the progress insofar as the training and equipping of South Vietnamese forces; second, progress in the Paris peace talks; and third, the level of enemy activity."

President Nixon Orders Overseas Cutback of Military, Civilians

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Japan, with 40,000 troops and civilian personnel, Taiwan, with approximately 10,000; Okinawa, 45,000; Philippines, with 30,000; Latin America, 24,000; Canada, Iceland and Greenland, 10,000, and Spain, 10,000.

It was emphasized that the implication should not be drawn that all of these countries would necessarily be affected by the 10 per cent, and 10 per cent is not necessarily a target for each of the countries.

President Nixon's decision is a part of his continuing effort to carry out his pledge to streamline Government operations and reduce Federal budget costs.

At a White House press conference, the question was asked if it was known what percentage the 14,900 troop reduction is of total American forces abroad.

It was explained that it is something more than 10 per cent. For example, there are one million military personnel abroad. The exceptions, Vietnam, where there are about 540,000 troops, and in NATO and Berlin where there are 300,000, and Korea, 40,000 to 50,000. Taking the exceptions from the one million, the figure reads approximately 150,000, averaging about 10 per cent.

Additional questions and answers relating to the reduction follow:

Q. This $75 million savings you talked about . . .

A. Yes, that is balance of payments savings. I said it could be $75 million per year.

Q. Is that accumulated 24 months hence or will it be $75 million per year.

A. No, that is in two years from now after this system is completed, then the figures that we were referring to now could lead to $75 million in savings.

Q. Will it take place in Fiscal Year 1970 which we have already started? I don't understand how you can jibe those figures.

A. Obviously, it relates to the expenditures involved with these personnel and the movement of personnel.

Q. Do you anticipate it will take two years to put this into effect?

A. A savings of up to $75 million would be reflected annually once we have the whole thing shaken down. You would not save it in Fiscal '70. It would take two years before the full savings occurred. The reduction will be accomplished in this fiscal year, but you would probably not get the full savings the first year.

The Under Secretaries Committee of the National Security Council, chaired by Elliot Richardson, will supervise the implementation of the reduction. It will assure that essential functions are not impaired and that the cuts are fairly apportioned among the agencies involved.

ANOTHER YEAR—General Earle G. Wheeler is sworn-in for another year as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird as Mrs. Wheeler observes. General Wheeler became JCS chairman July 3, 1964. The general is scheduled to return next week from an inspection tour of the Republic of Vietnam. His new term expires on July 3, 1970.

Air Force Dispersing Bombers, Tankers to 'Satellite Bases'

The Air Force plans to maintain a portion of its bombers and tankers away from their home bases "to improve the survivability of the strategic aircraft fleet."

Known as "satellite basing," this concept provides for dispersing alert aircraft to an increased number of bases and reduces the time required to launch the strategic alert force.

The dispersal will involve approximately four aircraft and 100 military personnel at each of the selected military installations beginning this summer.

Bases scheduled to receive portions of the Strategic Air Command force are Albany Naval Air Station, Ga.; Bergstrom AFB, Tex., Columbus AFB, Miss.; Homestead AFB, Fla.; MacDill AFB, Fla.; Mountain Home AFB, Idaho; Otis AFB, Mass.; Sheppard AFB, Tex.; and Whiteman AFB, Mo.

Current plans call for further extension of the program over the next two years.

The aircraft, crews and some support personnel will rotate periodically from the main operating base to which they are assigned.

Aircraft and crews at the dispersal bases will be on alert as part of the Strategic Air Command's global strike force.

Peaceful Development Vital to All Nations

OUR STAKE IN THE SEA

"With each passing day our seabed becomes more important for the security and well-being of all nations," President Nixon recently pointed out.

What is our stake in the world's oceans? Can their wealth of resources be developed peacefully? What about the Seabed Treaty now being discussed in Geneva? Here are recent statements on these important questions.

A report on "Our Nation and the Sea" prepared by a group of 15 distinguished American scientists aroused widespread interest when it was issued in January of this year. The scientists were members of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources, appointed by the President to prepare "A Plan for National Action." Following are excerpts from the Commission's extensive report:

How fully and wisely the United States uses the sea in the decades ahead will affect profoundly its security, its economy, its ability to meet increasing demands for food and raw materials, its position and influence in the world community, and the quality of the environment in which its people live.

The world population is expected to approximately double by the year 2000, but even a lesser rate of growth would intensify the already serious food supply problem. The need for supplemental animal protein sources is critical and is growing daily. The sea is not the only source of additional protein, but it is an extremely important one.

As the population grows, new means must be developed to expand the economy.

The potential for expanded economic activities is evident in today's marine industrial operations. Offshore petroleum, gas, and sulfur recovery attests that the wealth in the land under the sea is available to man. The mining of tin, diamonds, sand, gravel, and shell from the seabed shows the possibilities of recovering other important minerals. Deep submersibles and undersea habitats demonstrate the ability of man to live and work under the sea.

Vital though marine economic development is, it must be tempered by other considerations. There is increasing need to understand our physical environment, of which the oceans are but one part. This concern is based on growing appreciation that the environment is being affected by man himself, in many cases adversely.

The Future of Man's World

Mankind is fast approaching a stage when the total planetary environment can be influenced, modified, and perhaps controlled by human activities. The Nation's stake in the oceans is therefore an important part of its stake in the very future of man's world.

The oceans impartially wash the shores of most of the world's nations, whose interests in the uses of the sea mirror ours. Means for reaching reasonable accommodation of competing national interests must be found to achieve efficient and harmonious development of the sea's resources.

Because instabilities in the world situation cannot be remedied quickly, military power will continue to be a central factor in world affairs. As naval technology increases, the depth and variety of undersea operations require detection systems of ever increasing power and complexity . . . However, the oceans must not provide a new dimension for the nuclear arms race.

The United States has requested the U.N. Disarmament Committee to take up the question of arms limitation on the seabed and ocean floor with a view to defining those factors vital to a workable, verifiable, and effective international agreement which would prevent the use of this new environment for the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction. The Commission supports this position.

* * *

Seabed Draft Treaties Presented

The question of seabed arms limitation is now being discussed by the international body charged with arms control negotiations—the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. Seabed draft treaties have been presented by both the U.S. and the USSR, who are co-chairmen of the ENDC.

The U.S. draft treaty prohibiting the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the world's seabed is designed to curb the threat of an extension of the arms race to the seabed while assuring parties to the agreement that they may have reasonable confidence in its being observed.

The U.S. draft treaty stops short of banning all military uses of the seabed and everything of "a direct military nature" more than 12 miles from coastal baselines—as proposed by the Soviet Union—for a number of reasons:

• By focusing the prohibition on weapons of mass destruction, the problem of verifying compliance is greatly reduced—to at least "manageable" proportions. Nuclear and other mass-destruction weapons are complex devices requiring sophisticated delivery systems, extensive command and control systems, and periodic maintenance. It would be almost inconceivable, said U.S. Delegate Adrian Fisher, that any power would place such a weapon as part of an effective weapons system on the seabed without housing it in "quite a substantial installation," which would be unlikely to escape the attention of other maritime powers.

• For reasons of self-defense, the U.S. and many other naval powers which are either entirely insular or which have long coastlines would be unprepared to accept a total ban on all military activity on the seabed. The United Arab Republic, Sweden, Brazil, and Italy, for example, have expressed concern about this aspect of the Soviet proposal, which they consider "impracticable."

• Verification of the Soviet-proposal total ban would involve dealing with a vast number of objects, many of which are inconspicuous in themselves and do not require installations (e.g., mines). Verification would be complicated and difficult, and parties to the treaty would be faced with "the impossible task of having to decide whether each and every object or installation placed in the seabed was of a direct military nature," Mr. Fisher explained. The Soviet proposal would thus "pose insuperable verification problems well beyond the present or projected capabilities of any state."

President Nixon's Message

However, although differences between the U.S. and the Soviet positions exist, "it should not prove beyond our ability to find common ground so that a realistic agreement may be achieved that enhances the security of all countries," President Richard Nixon has pointed out.

In a message to the Disarmament Committee on July 3, the opening day of its summer session, Mr. Nixon also said:

"The framing of an international agreement to apply to more than 100 million square miles of the earth's surface lying under the oceans is a high challenge to our vision and statesmanship.

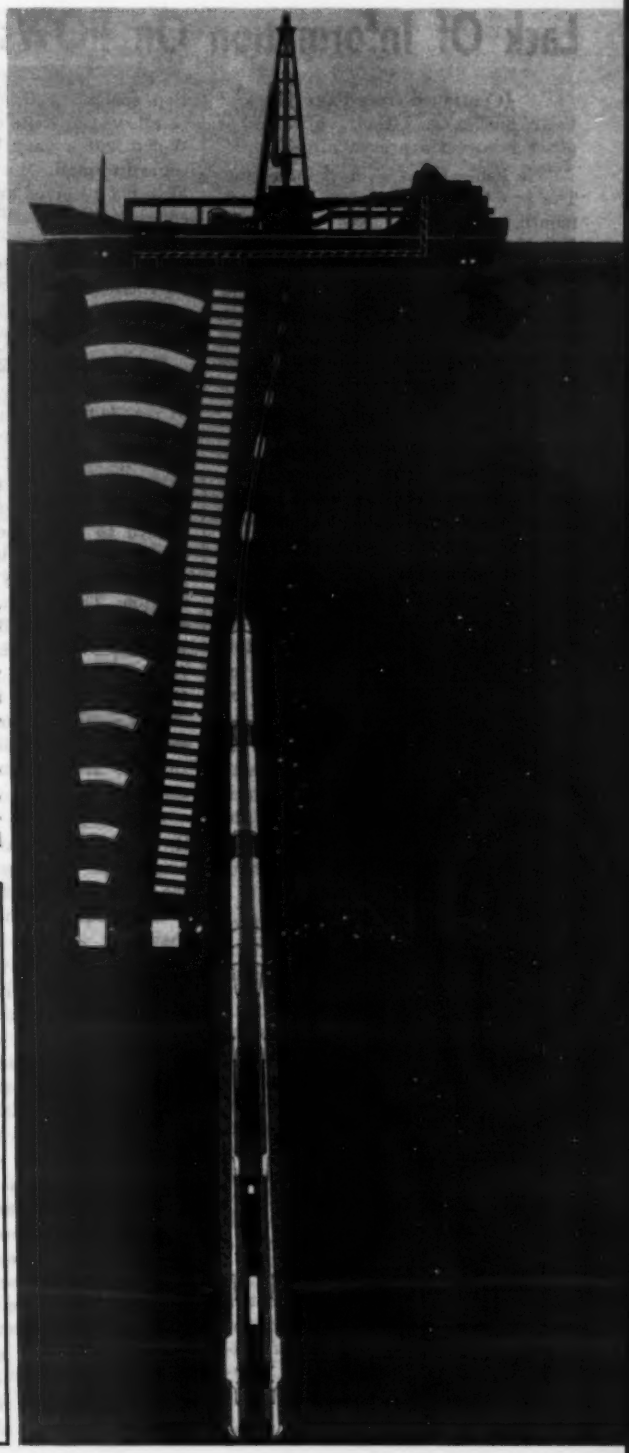
"With each passing day our seabed becomes more important for the security and well-being of all nations. Our goal should be to present a sound seabed arms control measure to the 24th General Assembly of the United Nations."

Deep Sea Explorer—The Glomar Challenger

One of the most dramatic examples of peaceful exploration of the seabed today is the Deep Sea Drilling Project (DSDP) of the U.S. National Science Foundation.

The first of a new class of DSDP drilling ships especially designed to operate in very deep waters is the *Glomar Challenger*, currently on a 40,000 mile voyage. Scientists from Canada, Italy, Switzerland and Brazil have participated in the work aboard ship and geologists from many other countries are expected to participate.

The drawing shows how the dynamically-positioned, self-propelled, satellite-navigated ship remains on station while working in water depths up to 20,000 feet. Dynamic positioning uses a computerized system of pulses from acoustic beacons on the ocean floor which are picked up by a ship-mounted hydrophone array, fed into a computer, and translated into corrective action by propulsion units (tunnel thrusters and ship propellers) which automatically keep the ship on station.



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their husbands, fathers, or sons or other relatives are even alive.

"We believe this is most inhumane. The problem has increased with each month. Today we have more than 200 U.S. servicemen who have been listed as prisoners or missing in action for three and a half or more years. This is longer than any U.S. servicemen were held prisoner during World War II. We now have more than 500 U.S. servicemen who have been

"United States Does Not Hold Prisoners."

listed as either prisoners or missing in action for over two years. So we've attempted to point out to the American people the magnitude of this problem in terms of the passage of months and the great hardships on the families involved."

Mr. Capen joined Mr. Havens in noting that the greatest problem with regard to North Vietnam's attitude is its consistent refusal to abide by the Geneva Convention.

The Public Affairs official elaborated:

"The Geneva Convention of 1949 spells out how a country should treat prisoners. North Vietnam has signed this Convention.

"It (the Convention) states first of all that as a bare minimum a country should release to an impartial organization, such as the International Red Cross, a list of the prisoners they hold. They should release the sick and injured immediately. We know that several of our men were injured at the time they were captured. North Vietnam has consistently refused to release the sick and injured people.

"The Geneva Convention also spells out that there should be impartial inspections of prisoners of war facilities. This, North Vietnam has consistently refused to do.

"And fourthly, the Geneva Convention spells out that prisoners should be allowed to write on a regular basis. We've had a very bad problem with regard to mail. Most of these families have not received any mail during the entire time of captivity. So we know most of the men are not being allowed to write. We believe this also is most inhumane."

Mr. Capen emphasized, "The United States does not hold prisoners."

He explained, "Men who are captured by U.S. forces are turned over to the South Vietnamese government. The South Vietnamese government holds these prisoners. There are some 25,000 now, in six facilities in South Vietnam. The important element with regard to these facilities is the fact that the South Vietnamese government does abide by the Geneva Convention. The South Vietnamese government does permit the International Red Cross to regularly inspect these facilities. This the International Red Cross has done. Such actions are strong indications of South Vietnam's and the United States' desire to see that the Geneva Convention provisions are adhered to."

Describing the inspections, Mr. Havens said they are not only of the prisoner of war facilities but also of the collecting points. He added, "And, it is definitely done on a 'no-notice' basis."

As for treatment of U.S. servicemen held prisoner, Mr. Havens said there is a lack of good information and a lot of the information available depends on where the individual was captured —there are U.S. prisoners in both North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

He said, "On the basis of men who have escaped from captivity in South Vietnam . . . we know that the prison facilities, if you can call them that, of the Viet Cong are quite crude and elementary, as they would have to be in a guerrilla environment. But we know some of our men are able to survive in these circumstances."

Mr. Havens said medical treatment of prisoners is a concern and the Geneva Convention requires that those who are seriously sick and wounded at the time of capture should promptly be released to assure their medical treatment.

Explaining the circumstances that determine when a "missing in action man" becomes a prisoner of war, Mr. Havens said, "Well, if the system worked the way it should work, we'd know if our men are missing in action, we'd know if they're prisoner or not at the time of capture because the enemy, as required by the Geneva Convention, would inform either us or some other neutral organization, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. However, neither the North Vietnamese nor the Viet Cong provide us with this information —we have to make the decision based on the best available information concerning any particular capture."

He added that unfortunately the vast majority of U.S. servicemen are still carried as missing because there is not enough information to conclude they are in the hands of the enemy.

It was noted that two-thirds of the men listed as prisoners or missing

"Geneva Convention of 1949 spells out how a country should treat Prisoners."

in action are Air Force personnel, primarily pilots.

Referring to Secretary of Defense Laird's press conference of May 19 where he expressed concern over the status of POWs, Mr. Capen said newspapers abroad and government officials of other countries also have spoken out and expressed concern over the release of prisoners and their welfare.

He continued, "You look at the history of prisoners of war and you'll find that for the most part there has been a minimum humanitarian stand-

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ard of conduct with regard to prisoner of war treatment. This issue transcends international boundaries, it transcends any political differences. And we found that when any individual in the United States, whether he is in favor of the war or not, or a nation abroad that may not support the United States on the war in Vietnam, they all agree that there is no way that the inhumane attitude of North Vietnam can be justified by any one's standard.

"North Vietnam has claimed that it is a humane nation of the world. If that's the case, then we have yet to see any humane attitude with regard to these 1,340 men. And we have found that in addition to the Paris peace talks that there are other efforts under way, and it's hoped that the impact of expression of some of the other leaders of the world will encourage North Vietnam to realize the importance of respecting these humanitarian requests.

Mr. Capen noted that six pilots have been released by North Vietnam, but "they're really not typical of the problem because they were held such a short period of time." Their time in captivity ranged from three to seven and a half months.

He said they are typical of one phase of the problem, because three of them were listed as missing in action. "The first that we knew that they were even alive was when radio Hanoi announced that they were about to be released. So they do typify the problem we have with those large numbers of men who are in the 'missing in action' category."

Mr. Capen said other prisoners were identified through propaganda films released by North Vietnam.

He added, "On occasion they have actually sold these films to media around the world and they've shown up in newspapers and magazines in Western or Eastern Europe. On a few occasions they have come to the United States, and this is precisely why it was our belief that we should point out our concerns on just this propaganda information. The propaganda has implied that our men are being well treated and yet we see men showing up in series of pictures still using crutches after three and four years of captivity.

"Therefore, we're concerned about what kind of medical treatment they're receiving. I might also say that in these propaganda films and photos we see the same faces. There are less than 100 men who have shown up, and they show up again and again. We believe that they are perhaps selected. To us these propaganda films and photos are no way to determine the status of men.

"North Vietnam claims they are treating the men humanely. They attempt to show this through their films. If they're treating men humanely then why won't they permit impartial inspections? Why won't they release the sick and injured?

"So to us, we are concerned about the information we receive from propaganda sources and we feel a responsibility to point out, not just to the American people, but to other people around the world that this is misleading information and we're concerned about it."

Mr. Capen explained that the State Department has brought this problem to the attention of other countries through embassies abroad and there have been expressions of concern by other foreign government officials and also in newspapers abroad. He said, "We feel that this is helpful."

Mr. Havens re-emphasized, "One of our basic problems is not knowing enough about the treatment of the men, but I might say that on the basis of the information that Hanoi itself has published we have great reason to be concerned if the men are being mistreated. We've noticed instances of isolation. We've noticed instances of great weight loss and these are matters of, involving a form of mistreatment, if you will, that we are greatly concerned with."

SYMBOL OF CHANGE—Lt. Col. Tran Dinh Hoe (right), Vice Commander, Republic of Vietnam Air Force's 33rd Tactical Wing, presents a plaque to Colonel Clyde S. Cherry, Vice Commander, U.S. Air Force's 14th Special Operations Wing, in appreciation for assistance in preparing VNAF aircrews to transfer five AC-47 "Spooky" gunships to the VNAF. This is part of the continuing program to modernize the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam.

COMMANDERS DIGEST

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Options Offered to Avoid All-out Nuclear War

Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, stressed May 26 that in the future, a most awesome and potentially dangerous set of uncertainties surround the problems of all-out nuclear war.

Speaking before the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, Pa., Dr. Foster said, "This is the one kind of war which we probably cannot fight and survive as a 20th Century nation. To survive, we must avoid such a war. We think we do know how to avoid it.

"We believe we can deter any potential enemy from starting such a war. This deterrence is obtained by maintaining long-range nuclear weapons which could survive an all-out attack, even by the Soviet Union, and successfully penetrate enemy defenses to deliver a level of destruction which the attacker would have to consider to be too great. Deterrence works to the extent that the Soviets are convinced we can and will retaliate successfully."

He noted that, "We have no doubt that the American ability to guarantee a devastating retaliation—and therefore an effective deterrence—is quite high today."

He said when we look ahead beyond the next few years, however, there is reason to worry. "While we do not know what the Kremlin leaders will be thinking at that time, we can be sure that should the growing Soviet offensive force cut even more deeply into the minimum essential surviving American deterrent force, the risk of nuclear war will rise.

"I cannot tell you what that risk will be. I can only say that it will be higher than today, and then remind you that nuclear war would be so very dreadful that we should do whatever is reasonable to keep the risk at near-zero."

Dr. Foster then questioned that if we are concerned over the future, what can we do to hold the risk of nuclear war to present low levels? He said there are a number of possible solutions to the problems and each should be "measured against the rational yardstick of nuclear-war decision making—that is, the possible effects of each alternative on avoidance of war, on deterrence and on arms control."

A first option—"We could simply add more deterrent weapons and thus insure that a sufficient number could be counted on by us and by the Soviets to survive. But this would be arms race purely and simply. This would not be a step toward negotiations and arms control; it would be a step away from it."

A second option—"We could plan to preserve our deterrent forces by launching Minuteman and Polaris missiles and the B-52 bombers as soon as radar warning indicates that the Soviets are attacking. If the Soviets knew this to be our plan and were convinced it would be our action, then they certainly would remain deterred. But both the Soviets and Americans would be deeply concerned about the inherent defects and dangers of launch-on-warning. Our early nuclear forces had such a defect. They were unprotected and could be preserved only by launching a preemptive strike. We found that the danger was so great, and the credibility of the threat so questionable, that we quickly found a better solution. To put it bluntly, no President should be required to launch his missiles and insure the deaths of 100 million human beings on each side just because it is reported that destruction seems imminent. Every President has insisted, rightfully so, that the Defense Department maintain a deterrent force which can ride out an attack and give him time to respond in a way and at a time that is appropriate."

A third option—"We could put our bombers on flying alert. This would preserve them in time of attack and thus preserve that part of the deterrent. But airborne alert is expensive. Also, it requires that aircraft loaded with nuclear weapons be in the air in substantial numbers at all times. I think this would be unacceptable to you people except in time of grave peril."

A fourth option—"We could add to the hardening of Minutemen and further disperse our B-52's. Both of these actions would help preserve the deterrent forces and would not interfere with arms-control efforts. Therefore we are preparing to do this. But silo hardening runs out of utility when the other side achieves a certain degree of missile accuracy, and bomber dispersal is a limited solution unless we are willing to permanently base B-52's on civilian fields or build new military airfields and facilities. Hardening and dispersal cannot do the whole job, but they are useful partial solutions."

A fifth option—"We could wait awhile, work on research and development of better missile defenses and meanwhile try to negotiate. This solution sounds attractive and we explored it at length in February and March of this year. Unfortunately, however, it does not alleviate the problem."

A sixth option—"We can continue with our ballistic missile defense paced by the threat, and also negotiate. This is our President's decision. He has recommended to the Congress that we install two Safeguard complexes at two Minuteman fields. This will permit us to give those deterrent weapons the margin of protection they may need by 1974. A decision to deploy this first phase of Safeguard should encourage the Soviets to negotiate realistically about nuclear arms control. We don't know that it will encourage the Soviets. But we do know that a decision for Safeguard will not discourage them. We know from current Soviet statements and past history that the closer we move towards a ballistic missile defense, the more interested the Soviets become in arms control talks. Yet, should arms controls fail and the Soviets continue to add to their offensive weapons, we will have a proper hedge to build on. We will be able to expand our defense at the same rate as the Soviets expand their offense and thus keep the risk of attack at the same near-zero as we see today."

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